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## DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

### Speech of Mr. Calhoun, IN REPLY TO MR. CLAY, On the Sub-Treasury Bill.

March 10, 1838.

(Continued.)

The Senator next proceeds to state, that in a certain document (if he named it, I did not hear him) I assigned as a reason why I could not join in the attack on the Administration, that the benefit of the victory would not accrue to myself, or my party, or, as he explained himself, because it would not place myself and them in power. I presume he referred to a letter, in answer to an invitation to a public dinner offered me by my old and faithful friends and constituents of Edgefield, in approbation of my course at the extra session.

[Mr. CLAY. I do.]

The pressure of domestic engagements would not permit me to accept their invitation, and, in declining it, I deemed it due to them and myself to explain my course, in its political and party bearing, more fully than I had done in debate. They had a right to know my reasons, and I expressed myself with the frankness due to the long and uninterrupted confidence which had ever existed between us.

Having made these explanatory remarks, I now proceed to meet the assertion of the Senator, and I again take issue on the fact. I assigned no such reason as the Senator attributes to me. I never dreamed or thought of such a one; nor can any force of construction extract it from what I said. No; my object was not power or place, either for myself or party. It was far more humble and honest. It was to save ourselves and our principles from being absorbed and lost in a party more numerous and powerful, but differing from us on almost every principle and question of policy.

When the suspension of specie payments took place in May last (not unexpected to me,) I immediately turned my attention to the event earnestly, considering it as an event pregnant with great and lasting consequences. Reviewing the whole ground, I saw nothing to change in the opinions and principles I had avowed in 1834, and I determined to carry them out, as far as circumstances and my ability would enable me. But I saw that my course must be influenced by the position which the two great contending parties might take in reference to the question. I did not doubt that the Opposition would rally either on a national bank, or a combination of state banks, with Biddle's at the head; but I was wholly uncertain what course the Administration would adopt, and remained so till the message of the President was received and read by the Secretary at his table. When I saw he went for a divorce, I never hesitated a moment. Not only my opinions and principles long entertained, and, as I have shown, fully expressed years ago, but the highest political motives, left me no alternative. I perceived, at once, that the object, to accomplish which we had acted in concert with the opposition, had ceased; Executive usurpations had come to an end for the present, and that the struggle with the Administration was no longer for power, but to save themselves. I also clearly saw, if we should unite with the Opposition in their attack on the Administration, the victory over them in the position they occupied, would be a victory over us and our principles. It required no sagacity to see that such would be the result. It was as plain as day. The Administration had taken position, as I have shown, on the very ground I occupied in 1834, and which the whole State-rights party had taken at the same time in the other house, as its journals will prove. The Opposition, under the banner of the bank, were moving against them for the very reason that they had taken the ground they did.

Now, I ask, what would have been the result if we had joined in the attack? No one can now doubt that the victory over those in power would have been certain and decisive, nor would the consequences have been the least doubtful. The first fruit would have been a national bank. The principles of the Opposition and the very object of the attack would have necessarily led to that. We would have been too feeble to resist, but would have been committed by joining in the attack with its avowed object to go for one, while those who support the Administration would have been scattered in the winds. We should then have had a bank, that is clear; how is it less certain, that in its train there would have followed all the consequences that have and ever will follow, when tried—high duties, overbearing revenue, extravagant expenditures, large surpluses; in a word, all those disastrous consequences which have

well near overthrown our institutions, and involved the country in its present difficulties. The influence of the institution, the known principles and policy of the Opposition, and the utter prostration of the Administration party, and the absorption of ours, would have led to these results as certainly as we exist.

I now appeal, Senators, to your candor and justice, and ask, could I, having all these consequences before me, with my known opinions and that of the party to which I belong, and to which only I owe fidelity, have acted differently from what I did? Would not any other course have justly exposed me to the charge of having abandoned my principles and party, with which I am now accused so unjustly? Nay, would it not have been worse than folly—been madness in me, to have taken any other? And yet, the grounds which I have assumed in this exposition are the very reasons assigned in my letter, and which the Senator has perverted most unfairly and unjustly into the pitiful, personal and selfish reason, which he has attributed to me. Confirmative of what I say, I again appeal to the record. The Secretary will read the paragraph marked in the Edgefield letter, to which, I presume, the Senator alluded.

"As soon as I saw this state of things, I clearly perceived that a very important question was presented for our determination, which we were compelled to decide forthwith—shall we continue our joint attack with the Nationals on those in power, in the new position which they have been compelled to occupy? It was clear, with our joint forces, we could utterly overthrow and demolish them; but it was not less clear that the victory would accrue, not to us, but exclusively to the benefit of our allies and their cause. They were the most numerous and powerful, and the point of assault on the position which the party to be assaulted had taken in relation to the banks, would have greatly strengthened the settled principles and policy of the National party, and weakened, in the same degree, ours. They are, and ever have been, the decided advocates of a national bank, and are now in favor of one with a capital so ample as to be sufficient to control the state institutions, and to regulate the currency and exchanges of the country. To join them, with their avowed object, in the attack to overthrow those in power, on the ground they occupied against a bank, would, of course, not only have placed the Government and country in their hands without opposition, but would have committed us beyond the possibility of extrication, for a bank, and absorbed our party in the ranks of the National Republicans. The first fruits of the victory would have been an overshadowing national bank, with an immense capital, not less than from fifty to an hundred millions, which would centralized the currency and exchanges, and with them the commerce and capital of the country, in whatever section the head of the institution might be placed. The next would be the indissoluble union of the political opponents, whose principles and policy are so opposite to ours, and so dangerous to our institutions as well as oppressive to us."

I now ask, is there any thing in this extract which will warrant the conclusion that the Senator has attempted to force on it? Is it not manifest that the expression on which he fixes, that the victory would accrue, not to us, but exclusively to the benefit of the Opposition, alludes not to power or place, but to principle and policy? Can words be more plain? What then becomes of all the assertions of the Senator, his reflections about selfishness and the want of patriotism, and his allusions and illustrations to give them force and effect? They fall to the ground without deserving a notice, with his groundless accusation.

But, if the Senator, in attributing to me

stern fidelity, meant, not devotion to principle, but to party, and especially the party of which he is so prominent a member, my answer is, that I never belonged to his party, nor owed it any fidelity; and of course, could forfeit, in reference to it, no character for fidelity. It is true, we acted in concert against what we believe to be the usurpations of the executive; and it is true, that, during the time, I saw much to esteem in those with whom I acted, and contracted friendly relations with many which I shall not be the first to forget. It is also true that a common party designation was applied to the opposing in the aggregate, not, however, with my approbation; but it is no less true that it was universally known that it consisted of two distinct parties, dissimilar in principle and policy, except in relation to the object for which they have united: the National Republican party, and the portion of the State rights party which had separated from the administration, on the ground that it had departed from the true principles of the original party. That I belonged exclusively to that detached portion, and to neither the opposition nor administration party, I prove by my explicit declaration, contained in one of the extracts, read from my speech on the currency in 1834. That the party generally, and the state which I represent in part, stood aloof from both of the parties, may be established from the fact that they refused to mingle in the party and political contests of the day. My state

withheld her electoral vote in two successive presidential elections; and rather than to bestow on either the Senator from Kentucky, or the distinguished citizen whom he opposed, in the first of those elections, she threw her vote on a patriotic citizen of Virginia, since deceased, of her own politics, but who was not a candidate; and in the last, she refused to give to the worthy Senator from Tennessee near me, (Judge White,) though his principles and views of policy approached so much nearer to hers than that of the party to which the Senator from Kentucky belongs. But, suppose the fact was otherwise, and that the two parties had blended so as to form one, and that I owed to the united party as much fidelity as I do to that to which I exclusively belonged; even on that supposition, no conception of party fidelity could have controlled my course on the present occasion. I am not among those who pay no regard to party obligations; on the contrary, I place fidelity to party among the political virtues, but I assign to it a limited sphere. I confine it to matters of detail and arrangement, and to minor questions of policy. Beyond that, on all questions involving principles, or measures calculated to affect materially the permanent interest of the country, I look only to God and country.

And here, Mr. President, I avail myself of the opportunity to declare my present political position, so that there may be no mistake hereafter. I belong to the old Republican State-rights party of '98. To that, and that alone, I owe fidelity, and by that I shall stand through every change and in spite of every difficulty. Its creed is to be found in the Kentucky resolutions, and Virginia resolutions and report, and its policy is to confine the action of this government within the narrowest limits compatible with the peace and security of these states, and the objects for which the Union was expressly formed. I, as one of that party, shall support all who support its principles and policy, and oppose all who oppose them. I have given, and shall continue to give, the administration's hearty and sincere support on the great question now under discussion; because I regarded it as in strict conformity to our creed and policy, and shall do every thing in my power to sustain them under the great responsibility which they have assumed.

But let me tell those who are more interested in sustaining them than myself, that the danger which threatens them lies not here, but in another quarter. This measure will tend to uphold them, if they stand fast and adhere to it with fidelity. But, if they wish to know where the danger is, let them look to the fiscal department of the government. I said, years ago, that we were committing an error the reverse of the great and dangerous one that was committed in 1828, and to which we owe our present difficulties, and all we have since experienced. Then we raised the revenue greatly, when the expenditures were about to be reduced by the discharge of the public debt; and now, we have doubled the disbursements, when the revenue is rapidly decreasing; an error, although probably not so fatal to the country, will prove, if immediate and vigorous measures be not adopted, far more so to those in power. The country will not, and ought not to bear the creation of a new debt, beyond what may be temporally necessary to meet the present embarrassment, and any attempt to increase the duties must and ought to prove fatal to those who may make it, so long as the expenditures may, by economy and accountability, be brought within the limits of the revenue.

But the Senator did not confine his at-

tack to my conduct and motives in reference to the present question. In his eagerness to weaken the cause I support, by destroying confidence in me, he made an indiscriminate attack on my intellectual faculties, which he characterized as metaphysical, eccentric, too much of genius, and too little common sense, and of course wanting a sound and practical judgment.

Mr. President, according to my opinion, there is nothing of which those who are endowed with superior mental faculties ought to be more cautious than to reprobate those with their deficiency to whom Providence has been less liberal. The faculties of our mind are the immediate gift of our Creator, for which we are no farther responsible than for their proper cultivation, according to our opportunities, and their proper application to control and regulate our actions. Thus thinking, I trust I shall be the last to assume superiority on my part or reproach any one with inferiority on his; but those who do not regard the rule, when applied to others, cannot expect it to be observed when applied to themselves. The critic must expect to be criticised, and he who points out the faults of others, to have his own pointed out.

I cannot retort on the Senator the charge

of being metaphysical. I cannot accuse him of possessing the powers of analysis and generalization, those higher faculties of the mind (called metaphysical by those who do not possess them,) which decompose and resolve into their elements the complex masses of ideas that exist in the world of mind, as chemistry does the bodies that surround us in the material world, and without which those deep and hidden causes which are in constant action, and producing such mighty changes in the condition of society, would operate unseen and undetected. The absence of these higher qualities of the mind is conspicuous throughout the whole course of the Senator's public life. To this it may be traced that he prefers the specious to the solid, and the plausible to the true. To the same cause, combined with an ardent temperament, it is owing that we ever find him mounted on some popular and favorite measure which he whips along, cheered by the shouts of the multitude, and never dismounts till he has rode it down. Thus, at one time, we find him mounted on the protective system, which he rode down; at another, on Internal Improvement; and now he is mounted on a bank, which will surely share the same fate, unless those who are immediately interested shall stop him in his headlong career. It is the fault of his mind to seize on a few prominent and striking advantages and to pursue them eagerly without looking to consequences. Thus, in the case of the protective system, he was struck with the advantages of manufactures, and, believing that high duties was the proper mode of protecting them, he pushed forward the system without seeing that he was enriching one portion of the country at the expense of the other; corrupting the one and alienating the other; and, finally, dividing the community into two great hostile interests, which terminated in the overthrow of the system itself. So, now, he looks only to a uniform currency and a bank as the means of securing it, without once reflecting how far the banking system has progressed, and the difficulties that impede its further progress; that banking and politics are running together to their mutual destruction; and that the only possible mode of saving his favorite system is to separate it from the Government.

To the defects of understanding, which the Senator attributes to me, I make no reply. It is for others, and not me, to determine the portion of understanding which it has pleased the Author of my being to bestow on me. It is, however, fortunate for me, that the standard by which I shall be judged is not the false, prejudiced, and, as I have shown, unfounded opinion which the Senator has expressed, but my acts. They furnish materials, neither few nor scant, to form a just estimate of my mental faculties. I have now been more than twenty-six years continuously in the service of this Government, in various stations, and have taken part in almost all the great questions which have agitated this country during this long and important period. Throughout the whole I have never followed events, but have taken my stand in advance, openly and freely avowing my opinions on all questions, and leaving it to time and experience to condemn or approve my course. Thus acting, I have often and on great questions separated from those with whom I usually acted, and if I am really so defective in sound and practical judgment as the Senator represents, the proof, if to be found anywhere, must be found in such instances, or where I have acted on my sole responsibility. Now, I ask, in which of the many instances of the kind is such proof to be found? It is not my intention to call to the recollection of the Senate all such; but that you, Senators, may judge for yourselves, it is due in justice to myself, that I should suggest a few of the most prominent, which at the time were regarded as the Senator now considers the present; and then, as now, because where duty is involved, I would not submit to party trammels.

I go back to the commencement of my public life, the war session, as it was usually called, of 1812, when I first took my seat in the other House, a young man, without experience to guide me; and I shall select, as the first instance, the Navy. At that time the Administration and the party to which I was strongly attached, were decidedly opposed to this important arm of service. It was considered anti-republican to support it; but acting with my then distinguished colleague, Mr. Cheves, who led the way, I did not hesitate to give it my hearty support, regardless of party ties. Does this instance sustain the charge of the Senator?

The next I shall select is the restrictive

system of that day; the embargo, the non-importation and non-intercourse acts.

This, too, was a party measure, which had been long and warmly contested,

and of course the lines of party well drawn. Young and inexperienced as

was, I saw its defects, and resolutely opposed it, almost alone of my party.—The second or third speech I made, after I took my seat, was in open denunciation of the system; and I may refer to the grounds I then assumed, the truth of which have been confirmed by time and experience, with pride and confidence. This will scarcely be selected by the Senator to make good his charge.

I pass over other instances, and come to Mr. Dallas's bank of 1814—15. That too, was a party measure. Banking was then comparatively but little understood, and it may seem astonishing at this time, that such a project should ever have received any countenance or support. It proposed to create a bank of \$50,000,000, to consist almost entirely of what was called then the war stocks; that is, the public debt created in carrying on the then war. It was provided that the bank should not pay specie during the war, and for three years after its termination, for carrying on which it was to lend the Government the funds. In plain language, the Government was to borrow back its own credit from the bank, and pay to the institution six per cent. for its use. I had scarcely ever before seriously thought of banks or banking, but I clearly saw through the operation, and the danger to the Government and country, and, regardless of party ties or denunciations, I opposed and defeated it in the manner I explained at the extra session. I then subjected myself to the very charge which the Senator now makes, but time has done me justice, as it will in the present instance.

Passing the intervening instances, I come down to my administration of the War Department, where I acted on my own judgment and responsibility. It is known to all, that the Department, at the time, was perfectly disorganized, with not much less than 50,000,000 of outstanding and unsettled accounts, and the greatest confusion in every branch of service. Though without experience, I prepared shortly after I went in, the bill for its organization, and on its passage I drew up the body of rules for carrying the act into execution, both of which remain substantially unchanged to this day. After reducing the outstanding accounts to a few millions, and introducing order and accountability in every branch of service, and bringing down the expenditure of the army from four to two and a half millions annually, without subtracting a single cent from either officer or soldier, I left the Department in a condition that might well be compared to the best in any country. If I am deficient in the qualities which the senator attributes to me, here in this mass of details and business it ought to be discovered. Will he look to this to make good his charge?

From the War Department I was transferred to the Chair which you now occupy. How I squatted myself in the discharge of its duties, I leave it to the body to decide, without adding a word. The station, from its leisure, gave me a good opportunity to study the genius of the prominent measure of the day, called then the American system, of which I profited. I soon perceived where its errors lay, and how it would operate. I clearly saw its desolating effects in one section, and corrupting influence in the other; and when I saw that it could not be arrested here, I fell back on my own State, and a blow was given to a system destined to destroy our institutions, if not overthrown, which brought it to the ground. This brings me down to the present times, and where passions and prejudices are yet too strong to make an appeal with any prospect of a fair and impartial verdict. I then transfer this, and all my subsequent acts, including the present, to the tribunal of posterity, with a perfect confidence that nothing will be found, in what I have said or done, to impeach my integrity or understanding.

I have now, Senators, repelled the attacks on me. I have settled the account and cancelled the debt between me and my accuser. I have not sought this controversy, nor have I shunned it when forced on me. I have acted on the defensive, and if it is to continue, which rests with the Senator, I shall throughout continue so to act. I know too well the advantage of my position to surrender it. The Senator commenced the controversy; and it is but right that he should be responsible for the direction it shall hereafter take. Be his determination what it may, I stand prepared to meet him.

Mr. CLAY rose immediately after Mr. Calhoun had resumed his seat, and addressed the Senate as follows:

In disposition, Mr. President, under which I am laboring, would have prevented my attendance in the Senate today upon any less interesting occasion than that of listening to the promised reply of the Senator from South Carolina, (Mr. Calhoun.) Having done so, respectfully and attentively, I shall not ask for two or three weeks to prepare and digest what I have to say. Invulnerable to any attack from any quarter, self-eased and self-poised, I feel perfectly ready to respond to such parts of the speech of the honorable Senator as appear to require any notice from me.

The Senator commenced by a complaint of the omissions in my speech. I presume he means my speech as published in the Senate.

Here Mr. Calhoun rose, and said that

his allusion was to the omissions of the Senator from Kentucky as delivered—omissions to answer parts of his argument.]

Mr. Clay continued. I have given way once for an explanation; I shall permit no other interruption. I did not interfere with the Senator from South Carolina during the delivery of his speech, and he will have ample opportunity to reply when I have done.

Sir, the Senator from South Carolina habitually complains of omissions and misrepresentations of his speeches whenever his argument happens to be retorted. Now, I clearly understand him, and I think so did the whole Senate, to assert, in the outset of his former speech, that there was but a single alternative, the bill or the substitute. And I supposed his object to be to drive my friends and myself to the acceptance of one or the other branch of it. By way of excluding any other course, he assumed that we had abandoned all thought of establishing a Bank of the United States. Since I have shown that there was another course, which is, to do nothing, far preferable to the bill, the Senator says that it was very obvious!

Another allegation of the Senator is, that I have misrepresented him with respect to the power of the general government to contract with state banks. It seems that he did not intend to assert broadly that there existed an inability on the part of this government to make any such contract whatever, but it is the particular contract contained in the substitute which, he thinks, cannot be constitutionally made. The contract proposed in the bill with the state banks, being approved by the Senator, is all perfectly constitutional and right! The Senator goes for his own thunder, and against that of everybody else. There was yet another contract with the state banks which had commanded the cordial approbation of the Senator, and that is contained in the deposit act of 1836. I think, Mr. President, it will be difficult for the ingenuity even of the Senator from South Carolina to maintain a competency to make those two contracts, and an inability to authorize that which is provided for in the substitute.

I am also accused of misrepresenting the Senator in respect to the reception of redeemable bank notes for the term of six years, as provided for in the bill. He thinks it entirely constitutional to make such a limited arrangement, whilst it would be, in his opinion, wholly inadmissible to continue for an indefinite time to receive such notes. The complaint of the Senator is, that I did not state the circumstances, conditions, and qualifications under which he proposes his temporary reception of bank notes. I do not think, Mr. President, that they can vary, in the smallest degree, the question of power. It, as contended for by the Senator, the constitution prohibits the reception of bank notes in due to the government, the prohibition extends as well to a term of six years as to any indefinite time. The Senator seems to me to have so no peculiar constitutional notions. The instrument in his hands is perfectly flexible and perpetually varying. He confounds expediency and constitutionality, and blends them so together, that it is difficult to discriminate the one from the other. He argues that we are so connected with the banks that we must ease off gradually, and not suddenly discontinue the use of their paper.

Now, sir, if my memory serves me, the Senator commenced his speech at the extra session by announcing that there was a total rupture between the government and the banks by the suspension of specie payments. The disconnection still exists in fact and in law. The bill, which the Senator so warmly espouses, makes a contingent revival of it. In 1816, also, the connexion had altogether ceased in point of law. Then the Senator proposed a Bank of the United States. In both cases, if I understand him, he proceeds on the ground of practical inconvenience. Now, sir, I cannot for my life concur in making the constitution this nose of wax. It does or does not authorize a Bank of the United States. It does or does not authorize the reception of the notes of local banks. If the defect of authority for one or the other exists, it applies to all times, and under all circumstances. No considerations of utility or present convenience can possibly put in the constitution a power which we do not find there. The doctrine of the Senator in 1816 was, as he now states it, that bank notes being in fact received by the Executive, although contrary to law, it was constitutional to create a Bank of the United States. And in 1834, finding that bank which was constitutional in its inception, but had become unconstitutional in its progress, yet in existence, it was quite constitutional to propose, as the Senator did, to continue it twelve years longer! That is, it is not unconstitutional to prolong the existence of an unconstitutional bank twelve years, but would be very unconstitutional to create a new bank! Let us suppose that, prior to the expiration of the twelve years, a state of things should arise which would require a further continuance of the bank for another term of twelve years, might it not be done upon the principles of the Senator? And thus continued indefinitely?

But, Mr. President, I will not dwell longer on the alleged misconceptions, on my part, or misrepresentations of the speech of the Senator. The Senate heard us

both, and our speeches are both published to the world. Mine has been prepared under my supervision. I recognise, and am willing to abide by it, just as it is; and I acquiesce most cheerfully in whatever judgment the Senate and the public may pronounce.

As to the personal part of the speech of the Senator from South Carolina, I must take the occasion to say, that no man is more sincerely anxious to avoid all personal controversy than myself. And I may confidently appeal to the whole course of my life for the confirmation of that disposition. No man cherishes less than I do feelings of resentment; none forgets or forgives an injury sooner than I do. The duty which I had to perform in animadverting upon the public conduct and course of the Senator from South Carolina, was painful in the extreme; but it was, nevertheless, a public duty, and I shrink from the performance of no duty required at my hands by my country. It was painful, because I had long served in the public councils with the Senator from South Carolina, admired his genius, and for a great while had been upon terms of intimacy with him. Throughout my whole acquaintance with him, I have constantly struggled to think well of him, and to ascribe to him public virtues. Even after his famous summer set at the extra session, on more than one occasion, I defended his motives when he was assailed, and insisted that it was uncharitable to attribute to him others than those which he himself avowed. This I continued to do until I read this most extraordinary and exceptionable letter [Here Mr. Clay held up and exhibited to the Senate the Edgefield letter dated at Fort Hill, Nov. 3, 1837:] a letter of which I cannot speak in merited terms, without a departure from the respect which I owe to the Senate and to myself. When I read that letter, sir, its unblushing arroval, and its unjust reproaches cast upon my friends and myself, I was most reluctantly compelled to change my opinion of the honorable Senator from South Carolina. One so distinguished as he is cannot expect to be indulged with speaking as he pleases of others, without a reciprocal privilege. He cannot suppose that he may set to the right or to the left, cut in and out and chasse, among principles and parties as often as he pleases, without animadversion. I did, indeed, understand the Senator to say, in his former speech, that we, the Whigs, were unwise and unpatriotic in not uniting with him in supporting the bill under consideration. But in that Edgefield letter, among the motives which he assigns for leaving us, I understand him to declare that he could not "back and sustain those in such opposition, in whose wisdom, firmness, and patriotism, I have no reason to confide."

After having written and published to the world such a letter as that, and after what has fallen from the Senator, in the progress of this debate, towards my political friends, does he imagine that he can persuade himself and the country that he really occupies, on this occasion, a defensive attitude? In that letter he says: "I clearly saw that our bold and vigorous attacks had made a deep and successful impression. State interposition had overthrown the Protective Tariff, and with it the American System, and put a stop to the Congressional usurpation, and the joint attacks of our party, and that of our old opponents, the National Republicans, had effectually brought down the power of the Executive, and arrested its encroachments for the present. It was for that purpose we had united. True to our principle of opposition to the encroachment of power, from whatever quarter it might come, we did not hesitate, after overthrowing the protective system, and arresting legislative usurpation, to join the authors of that system, in order to arrest the encroachments of the Executive, although we differed as widely as the poles on almost every other question, and regarded the usurpation of the Executive but as a necessary consequence of the principles and policy of our new allies."

State interposition—that is, as I understand the Senator from South Carolina, nullification, he asserts, overthrew the Protective Tariff and the American System. And can that Senator, knowing what he knows, and what I know, deliberately make such an assertion here? I had heard similar boasts before, but did not regard them, until I saw them coupled in this letter with the imputation of a purpose on the part of my friends to disregard the compromise, and revive the high tariff. Nullification, Mr. President, overthrew the protective policy! No, sir. The compromise was not extorted by the terror of nullification. Among other more important motives that influenced its passage, it was a compassionate concession to the imprudence and impetuosity of nullification! The danger from nullification itself excited no more apprehension than would be felt by seeing a regiment of a thousand boys, of five or six years of age, decorated in brilliant uniforms, with their gaudy plumes and tiny muskets, marching up to assault a corps of 50,000 grenadiers, six feet high. At

\* Mr. Calhoun insists that this paragraph in his letter does not apply to the Whigs, but to the Administration party. The clause is very ambiguous, and is susceptible of either interpretation. But if he really meant that he had no confidence in "the wisdom, firmness and patriotism" of that party, how could he unite with it to establish a novel and important system, confessedly fraught with prodigious consequences, which was to be entrusted to their execution.

the commencement of the session of 1832, the Senator from South Carolina was in any condition, other than that of dictating terms. Those of us who were then here must recollect well his haggard looks and his anxious and depressed countenance. A highly estimable friend of mine, Mr. J. M. Clayton, of Delaware, alluding to the possibility of a rupture with South Carolina, and declarations of President Jackson with respect to certain distinguished individuals whom he had denounced and proscribed, said to me on more than one occasion, referring to the Senator from South Carolina and some of his colleagues, "They are clever fellows, and it will never do to let old Jackson hang them." Sir, this disclosure is extorted from me by the Senator.

So far from nullification having overthrown the protective policy, in ascertaining the compromise it expressly sanctioned the constitutional power, which it had so strongly controverted, and perpetuated it. There is protection from one end to the other in the compromise act; modified and limited, it is true, but protection nevertheless. There is protection, adequate and abundant protection, until the year 1842, and protection indefinitely beyond it. Until that year, the biennial reduction of duties is slow and moderate, such as was perfectly satisfactory to the manufacturers. Now, if the system were altogether unconstitutional, as had been contended, how could the Senator vote for a bill which continued it for nine years? Then, beyond that period, there is the provision for cash duties, home valuations, a long and liberal list of free articles, carefully made out by my friend from Rhode Island, (Mr. Knight,) expressly for the benefit of the manufacturers, and the power of discrimination, reserved also for their benefit, within the maximum rate of duty fixed in the act. In the consultations between the Senator and myself in respect to the compromise act, on every point upon which I insisted, he gave way. He was for a shorter term than nine years, and more rapid reduction. I insisted, and he yielded. He was for fifteen instead of twenty per cent, as the maximum duty, but yielded. He was against any discrimination within the limited range of duties for the benefit of the manufacturers, but consented. To the last he protested against home valuation, but finally gave way. Such is the compromise act; and the Senate will see with what propriety the Senator can assert that nullification had overthrown the Protective Tariff and the American System. Nullification! which asserted the extraordinary principle that one twenty-four members of a confederacy, by its separate action, could subvert and set aside the expressed will of the whole.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bayard, Black, Calhoun, Clay, Clayton, Crittenden, Davis, Ewing of Ohio, Headings, Kent, Knight, McLean, Moore, Morris, Prentiss, Preston, Robinson, Spence, Swift, Tipton, Tomlinson, Wall, Webster—24.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Benton, Brown, Cuttbert, Ewing of Illinois, Fulton, Hubbard, King of Alabama, King of Georgia, Linn, Lyon, Mouton, Nicholas, Niles, Norvell, Page, Parker, Rives, Robinson, Ruggles, Sevier, Strange, Tallmadge, White, Walker, Wright—25.

Thus we perceive that the Senator from South Carolina has left us, who have shown a disposition to maintain inviolably the compromise act, on which he has so often professed to believe that the security of the South depended, and has gone to the other party, which has exhibited a direct contrary disposition to disregard it. And who can doubt that, if it were necessary to the party in power to secure their place, they would revive the tariff much higher than it ever has been?

I have never desired, sir, to force any opinions of my own upon the people of this country, contrary to their will. I form my opinions from the best light which I can command, and freely announce them. If they are unacceptable, at any time, to the country, I cheerfully acquiesce. With respect to internal improvements, that other part of the American system, which the Senator says he left us from an apprehension of its being revived, the state of the country is greatly altered since the power was first asserted and exercised. In my own state, and within a few years, we have completed and put in progress most of the improvements which are desirable there. And, in all the states, large and liberal appropriations of their own means, and great advances in their various works, have been made. When the land bill was under consideration, I stated that its passage would fully satisfy every reasonable expectation of the several states, in respect to means to be drawn from the general government, in regard to internal improvements. Since that period, a measure has been adopted nearly equivalent to the passage of the land bill, by which about \$30,000,000 have been placed in the power of the states, subject to their application to objects of internal improvement. And it, as I hope may prove to be the case, the land bill should at some future day be passed, scarcely another wish can remain as to the application of the means of the general government to works of internal improvement. In point of fact, larger appropriations have been made to that object by the present friends of the Senator from South Carolina, than by any preceding administration. He had, therefore, no motive to leave us and join them, from any apprehension which he could justly entertain with respect to that system of policy.

The Senator from South Carolina proceeds, in his Edgefield letter, to say:

"I clearly perceive that a very important question was presented for our determination, which we were compelled to decide forthwith: shall we continue our joint attack with the Nationals on those in power, in the new position which they have been compelled to occupy? It was clear that, with our joint forces, we could utterly overthrow and demolish them, but it was not less clear that the victory would ensue, not to us,

too, from South Carolina, alleging that the South were the weaker party, has hitherto united with me in sustaining it. Nevertheless, he has left us, as he tells us in his Edgefield letter, because he apprehended that our principles would lead us to the revival of a high tariff. How stands the matter with the other party? It is known that the present Chief Magistrate voted for the bill of 1828, after, as has been asserted, having advised such a concoction of it as to ensure its defeat, and having held out to the Southern Delegation the hope that it would be defeated. On that occasion a late distinguished Senator from Virginia is reported to have said that he had deceived them once, and that was his fault, but if he ever deceived them again it would be theirs. The present chairman, in the Senate, of the Committee on Finance, was a member of the Committee on Manufactures in the H. of R. which prepared that bill of 1828, and we all know that both he and other leading members of the administration party have again and again declared that they held themselves no more bound by the Compromise Act than by any ordinary act of legislation. It will be also recited that at the very last annual session a test vote on my motion was given in respect to the Compromise Act, when every political friend that I have, except the venerable Senator from Tennessee, (who, for particular reasons, voted against us, but who assured me at the time he had no intention of disturbing substantially the act,) voted for adherence to it, and every friend of the Administration, with one or two exceptions, voted against it. Here, Mr. President are the eyes and noses:

but exclusively to the benefit of our allies and their cause."

Thus it appears that in a common struggle for the benefit of our whole country, the Senator was calculating upon the party advantages which would result from success. He quit us because he apprehended that he and his party would be absorbed by us. Well, what is to be their fate in his new alliance? Is there no absorption there? Is there no danger that the Senator and his party will be absorbed by the Administration party? Or does he hope to absorb that? Another motive avowed in the letter, for his desertion of us, is that "it would give us the chance of effecting what is still more important to us, the union of the entire South." What sort of an union of the South does the Senator wish? Is not the South already united as a part of the common confederacy? Does he want any other union of it? I wish he would explicitly state. I should be glad also, if he would define what he means by the South. He sometimes talks of the plantation or staple states. Maryland is partly a staple state. Virginia and North Carolina more so. And Kentucky and Tennessee have also staple productions. Are all of these states part of his South? I fear, Mr. President, that the political geography of the Senator comprehends a much larger South than that South which is the object of his particular solicitude; and that, to find the latter, we should have to go to South Carolina; and, upon our arrival there, trace him to Fort Hill. This is the disinterested Senator from South Carolina.

(To be continued.)

Whatever may be the political offences of the present head of the administration, it is a source of pleasure to every visitor to the District, to find that he is disposed to cultivate the civilities and courtesies of life even with his political opponents. During the iron reign of Mr. Jackson, difference of opinion with the administration was almost equivalent to exclusion from the hospitality of the executive mansion. The case is now altered. Mr. Van Buren does not think inconsistent with the proprieties of a position to entertain at his table, Messrs. Clay, Webster, and others of his most distinguished opponents. Nor do those gentlemen refuse to cultivate with him those social relations which his character and theirs, as gentlemen, render agreeable and appropriate. The effect of such a spirit spreads itself through the society of the Federal metropolis, and entertainments of the heads of the Cabinet, with, perhaps, a single exception, are constantly graced by the company of the distinguished of the opposition.

Balt. Chron.

The Duel.—At a meeting of the citizens of Hampden (Maine), in reference to the late duel, the following resolution was, among others, adopted. It is a severe and pointed rebuke to certain patriotic efforts, and from the right quarter:

Resolved, That the attempt of certain newspapers to make a political question of the unfortunate affair at Washington, deserves our utter contempt and unqualified indignation, and those who would make poor Ciley's blood count for the party, are base enough to gamble over a parent's grave.

It appears by accounts received at St. Louis, from Fort Leavenworth, that indications of hostility are manifesting themselves among the Osage Indians. Several companies of United States troops had marched from Fort Leavenworth for the Osage territory.

New Dispute.—There is likely to be a dispute between this country and Texas, about our boundary. That government claims two counties heretofore considered as belonging to the territory of Arkansas. The people in those counties adhere to Texas, and have chosen members to the Texian Congress. The Texian Government has appointed Land Offices within the disputed territory, for the sale of unclaimed land.

Upper Canada.—Gov. Marcy, of New York, has received a very friendly letter from Sir Geo. Arthur, the new governor, expressing a desire that all the amicable relations that hitherto subsisted between that province and the United States may be immediately re-established.

Honest Confession.—The following is from the Evening Post, the leading organ of Van Burenism in the city of New York:

"The democracy is in a very hazardous position. It is not to be disputed that our measures have accelerated the present state of things, and no party can withstand the odium of such a condition. If our masters do not remedy the evils that exist, we are overwhelmed beyond any peradventure."

"Financially speaking, the Bank of the United States worked well, and it is folly to suppose the people will consent to be long without it, unless the same result can be brought about in another way. The present state of things is not to be endured, and will not be endured."

The free banking law has passed the Legislature of New York. It is said that under it, there will be 1500 banks in that State. This will be one of the blessings of the "monopoly" system.



## HILLSBOROUGH.

Tuesday, April 17.

■ The publication of this number of the Recorder has been delayed in consequence of a disappointment in the receipt of paper.

We were sometime since favored by Mr. Calhoun with a copy of his speech on the sub-treasury bill, delivered in the Senate on the 15th of February. Though we do not agree with him in his conclusions, nor even in all his premises, yet we consider it a very able and ingenious speech; and if we had more abundant space, it would give us pleasure to have spread it before our readers. But having published his speech at the extra session, on matters closely allied to the present, there is less necessity for crowding our columns now. We have felt it a duty, however, to publish Mr. Calhoun's reply to Mr. Clay, in which he attempts to clear himself from the charge of inconsistency; and we shall endeavor to publish so much of the debate as will enable our readers to judge whether he has been successful.

The Hon. Robert Strange has also favored us with his speech, delivered on the same subject, on the 6th of March. We have read it with attention, and parts of it we admire as specimens of chaste and elegant composition; but as a whole we do not consider it equal to his speech at the extra session, which we then published. We agree with him in reprobating the use of odious names as catch words to produce effect where argument would fail. We do not believe that the term *Loco Foco*, or *Agrarian*, will apply to any large portion of the people of the United States, at any rate in this southern portion of it. But are the Whigs alone obnoxious to censure in this particular? Do not the opposite party make free use of equally objectionable and offensive terms? Do we not see daily, in nearly all the Van Buren prints, the terms Blue Lights, Bank Whigs, Hartford Convention Federalists, and a host of others, intended to conjure up "a rabble of offensive ideas?" Our Senator deals out a gentle rebuke to Mr. Clay for giving a literal interpretation to the phrase "hollowed instrument," as applied to an individual high in office; but he forgets that when he himself condescends to apply the term "Whiggery" to a large portion of the people even of his own state, he also stoops from the high station befitting a dignified Senator. We think good taste is violated in all these things.

The Western Carolinian, on noticing the recent triumph of the Whigs in Connecticut, says: "Hartford Convention Federalism is fast gaining the ascendant again at the north. The Hamiltonian doctrines are in vogue." What are we to understand by this? Does the Carolinian mean to say, that all those who are opposed to Mr. Van Buren, and the disastrous system of experiments which he advocates, are anti-Republican, Hartford Convention Federalists? If so, these oppositions terms are destined soon to lose all the odium hitherto attached to them: For the election in Connecticut is but one in the long series of Whig victories, which we trust will continue to be followed up, until it shall be made to appear that the great body of the people in every state are united in their opposition to the wild scheme of executive usurpations, which has brought so much evil on the country. But we thought the Carolinian himself was in the opposition a short time since; how, then, does he venture to make such a sweeping denunciation?

Two Surgeons, and as many Assistants as the service may require, will be retained in Florida; all other officers of the Medical Staff will proceed with the troops to the Cherokee country.

Major General Je-up, after taking the necessary measures for the prompt execution of this order, will turn over the command of the troops in Florida to Brevet Brigadier General Z. Taylor, Colonel of the 1st Infantry, and then repair to the seat of government, and resume the duties of Quartermaster General.

Democratic Reaction.—The Van Buren party in Connecticut have met a Waterloo defeat. The Whig candidate for Governor (Ellsworth) has been elected by a majority of 4517 votes over both the Van Buren candidates. In the Senate 20 Whigs, and only 1 Van Buren;

and in the House of Representatives 150 Whigs have been chosen, and only 64 Van Buren. This election derives additional importance from the fact that a successor to Mr. Niles in the United States Senate is to be appointed by this Legislature.

More "Reaction."—In the Lincoln district, Maine, Edward Robinson (a Whig) has been elected to Congress, to supply the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. Cilley, by a majority of 663 votes over the Van Buren candidate. And this notwithstanding the great efforts which were made to arouse the feelings of the people against the Whigs, in consequence of the manner of Mr. Cilley's death.

In Michigan strong symptoms of "reaction" are manifested, and little doubt remains that she will hereafter take rank among the Whig states.

In New York, the work goes bravely on.

Juba, the slave of Isaac Griffiths, convicted at our last Superior Court for a rape committed on a young white woman, was hung in this place on Friday the 13th instant, pursuant to sentence.

An act has been passed by the Legislature of Virginia, by which the operation of all laws subjecting the Banks of that state to a forfeiture of charter, or to the payment of a higher rate of damages than six per cent. per annum, for failing to pay or redeem their notes or debts in specie, is suspended until the 1st day of April, 1839. The same act authorizes bank notes to be received in payment of taxes, as heretofore, and requires that the public revenue shall continue to be deposited in the Bank of Virginia, and the Farmers Bank of Virginia. By this act also, it is made the duty of the several chartered banks of the state, to issue bills of one and two dollars, to an amount of not less than two nor more than four per cent. upon their capital, until the 1st day of April, 1839, which notes are to be payable on demand in specie.

The National Intelligencer announces the death of another member of Congress. The Hon. Isaac M'Kim, one of the representatives from Maryland, died at his lodgings in the city of Washington, on the 1st instant, after an illness of only a few days. The Intelligencer says, Mr. M'Kim was a wealthy and spirited merchant of Baltimore, of exemplary private character, benevolent disposition, and urbane manners. He had been a member of Congress during the greater part of the last fifteen years.

The President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, has conferred the *Brevet* of Brigadier General on the gallant Colonel Taylor, of the 1st regiment of infantry, for his meritorious conduct in the last action with the Florida Indians.

From a General Order, issued from the Adjutant General's Office at Washington, it appears that the operations in Florida will terminate on the first of May. The 1st and 6th regiments of infantry, six companies of the 2d Infantry, and four companies of the 2d Dragoons, will constitute the regular force to remain in Florida, with as many companies of the volunteers or militia of the territory as the officer remaining in command may deem necessary. The three companies of the 6th Infantry, now in Louisiana, will forthwith join the head quarters of the regiment at Tampa Bay.

The four regiments of Artillery, the 4th regiment of Infantry, six companies of the 2d Dragoons, and the detachment of Marines, will repair to the Cherokee country by the most convenient and expeditious routes.

Two Surgeons, and as many Assistants as the service may require, will be retained in Florida; all other officers of the Medical Staff will proceed with the troops to the Cherokee country.

Major General Je-up, after taking the necessary measures for the prompt execution of this order, will turn over the command of the troops in Florida to Brevet Brigadier General Z. Taylor, Colonel of the 1st Infantry, and then repair to the seat of government, and resume the duties of Quartermaster General.

Major General Scott is assigned to the immediate command of the troops ordered to the Cherokee country, and the direction of affairs in that quarter. The commanders of regiments and detachments are to report to his head quarters

at Athens, Tennessee, or wherever else they may be established.

Congress.—Mr. Hamer of Ohio, a leader of the Administration party in the House, offered a resolution on Saturday last, declaring,—

"That, if the banks, or a portion of them, do thus resume, it will be the duty of the General Government, within the limits of its constitutional authority, to aid such banks, as the present Administration designs to do, in regaining public confidence, and to sustain them in their laudable efforts to fulfil their obligations, to relieve the wants of the community, and to restore to the people a sound circulating medium."

This is an important move. It may be regarded as an indication of returning sanity, produced by the late elections.

William Hines, a young man aged about 21 years, was killed in this town, on the night of Tuesday the 3rd instant, between the hours of 10 and 11 o'clock, by a girl named Reenie Harrald. He was stabbed in the thigh with a knife, and bled to death before medical aid could be procured—although it appears every exertion was made to save his life. An inquest was held on the body next morning by Wm. W. Brickle, Esq. one of the Coroners for this County. The girl was scoured and lodged in jail to await her trial.

Raleigh and Gaston Rail Road.—We understand that the Bridge at Gaston is completed, and that the road will be completed as far as Chalk Level by July. Petersburg Intelligencer.

## Democratic Republican Meeting.

On Saturday the 7th of April, being the day of muster at Cedar Grove, a meeting was held by a large portion of the Farmers and Mechanics of the county, in order to recommend and nominate such persons as they hoped would unite the Democratic party of the county of Orange. Capt. Hunter McCulloch called the meeting to order by nominating as chairman, Maj. Joseph Armstrong; which nomination was sustained. Maj. Armstrong then took the chair, and Mr. D. Paul was appointed secretary.

The object of the meeting having been explained by the chairman, it was

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the chairman, to nominate such persons as they believe to be suitable, to represent the Democratic Republicans of the county of Orange.

Whereupon, Hezekiah Terry, John G. Walker, Hunter McCulloch, Capt. John H. Wells and William Ray were appointed.

After retiring for a short time they reported the names of the following gentlemen:

Gen. Joseph Allison for the Senate, Col. John Stockard, Col. Herbert Sims, George A. Mebane, esq. and Col. Benjamin Trolinger, for the House of Commons.

The selection was unanimously approved by the meeting; and the persons selected recommended to the people of Orange, as suitable candidates to run on the Democratic Republican ticket at our next August election.

On motion of Mr. Terry, the meeting resolved that a committee of three be appointed to confer with the persons recommended; and Samuel R. Woods, Capt. H. McCulloch and D. D. Paul, were appointed.

On motion it was ordered, that the proceedings of the meeting be signed by the chairman and secretary, and published in the Hillsborough Recorder, North Carolina Standard, and Milton Spectator.

The meeting then presented their thanks to the chairman and secretary, and, on motion, adjourned.

J. ARMSTRONG, President.  
D. D. PAUL, Secretary.

## MARRIED.

On the 12th inst. by John Boon, esq. Mr. CHRISTOPHER C. CURTIS to Miss TEMPERANCE GRAVES, daughter of Daniel Graves, esq. all of this county.

## DIED,

In the neighbourhood of Wilmington, on the 27th ultmo., Mrs. MILDRED WADDELL, wife of Mr. Maurice Waddell, and daughter of Capt. Samuel Hall, deceased, aged about 29.

## Weekly Almanac.

APRIL.	Sun. risea sets.	Sun. sets.	MOON'S PHASES.	First.	17	10	32	morn.
13 Friday.	5 34	6 26						
14 Saturday.	5 33	6 27						
15 Sunday.	5 32	6 28						
16 Monday.	5 31	6 29	D. N.	0	8	40	after.	
17 Tuesday.	5 29	6 31	N.	1	4	15	after.	
18 Wednesday.	5 28	6 32		24	1	43	morning.	
19 Thursday.	5 27	6 33			First.	17	10	32

## Pocket Book Found.

A POCKET BOOK containing Ninety Five Dollars, was found by James R. Montgomery, near Providence Meeting House in this county, and lodged in the Post Office at Albrighton. The owner is requested to come forward, pay proper charges, and receive the same.

D. ALBRIGHT, P. M.

Orange county, March 19. 13-3m

## Bacon and Lard.

3,000 lbs. of BACON, and a quantity of LARD.

For sale by ALLEN PARKS.

April 13. 16-4w

Notice.

I AM now prepared to settle with the Legatees of the Estate of JOHN LONG, deceased; they are therefore requested to call and receive their respective legacies.

JOHN NEWLIN, Esq.

April 12. 16-4w

## STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA.

Orange County.

Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions,

February Term, 1838.

Durham & Clemmons. { Original Attachment.

Thomas J. Wait. { Original Attachment.

T appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that the defendant in this case is not an inhabitant of this state. It is therefore ordered that publication be made in the Hillsborough Recorder, for six weeks successively, that unless the said defendant appear at the next Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, to be held for the County of Orange, at the courthouse in Hillsborough, on the fourth Monday in May next, and plead, answer or demur, judgment by default will be entered against him.

JOHN TAYLOR, Clerk.

Price adv. \$4 50. 16-6w

## STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA.

Orange County.

Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions,

February Term, 1838.

Jones & Danforth. { Original Attachment.

Harrison H. Harris. { Original Attachment.

Sil



From the Boston Times.

### APOSTROPHE

To the fellow that inhumanly shot the first Bird of Spring in New Haven.

Who art thou, caitiff! that with borrowed gun  
And stolen powder, aimed thy felon shot,  
In cruelty's more wantonness; at one  
Much thy superior, that had harmed thee not?  
Art thou not some miserable bore—  
No freshman, but an old-experienced cheat?  
Thou canst not senior be, or sophomore—  
Perhaps a tailor out of Chapel street.  
Not for a tailor is an honest man;  
But thou art nothing that can be of use;  
A heartless sinner against nature's plan,  
Who ne'er designed such an unfeather'd goose.  
Diana's temple at old Ephesus.  
Was burnt once by a fool that wanted fame—  
But thou, whose deed of cruelty men curse,  
More knave than fool art, hidest thy foul name.  
Who's than art, I only wish that ghost  
Of murdered swallow, or poor bob-a-link  
May perch at midnight on thy scant bed post  
And see a coward 'neath the blanket slink.  
And that whence'er for music thou dost sigh,  
Instead of bird's termanian's shrill note  
Thou'll hear, and when thou wouldst devour  
duck pie,  
A piece of bone would tarry in thy throat.

### NORTH-CAROLINA.

That our state possesses within herself all the elements of prosperity there is not the least doubt. The mountainous part is equal if not superior to any part of the United States as a grazing country; the middle country, in which we reside, is well calculated for the raising of grain, of every description, and although not naturally so fertile as the favored west, may, under good management, be made to produce all the necessities of life in the greatest abundance. The western part of our state is also rich in mineral treasures; iron, copper, lead, and gold have been found; and the formation of the country warrants the belief that they exist in abundance. The lower country, from its formation, most probably contains coal. And yet with all these natural advantages, it is well known that North-Carolina is generally admitted to be a poor state. What is the reason? It must be obvious to every reflecting mind. We have all been devoted to one pursuit. Without the means of disposing of our surplus in exchange for other articles, we have been farmers; and no country can prosper under such circumstances, except where great fertility of soil and climate are united to easy means of transportation, neither of which North-Carolina possesses.

What, then, would make us prosperous? That an improvement in our means of transportation would add to our prosperity, I will admit; but the nature of our state is such that no improvement can sufficiently cheapen the means of transportation to enable us to compete successfully in agricultural products, with the more favored portions of our country; and this being the case, it must be admitted by every one, that the only way to increase our prosperity, is to create a market within ourselves, which can only be effected by a diversity in our pursuits, or in other words, by establishing manufactures of different kinds. In North-Carolina, labor is lower than in any other state in the Union; our rivers and streams, which are not navigable on account of their great fall, are well calculated for water power; and provisions of every description are cheap, all of which are essential to the success of manufactures. What, then, is to prevent our becoming very prosperous, if our people will but awaken to their true interest? Nothing. And that such would be the case must be evident to every one, from the good effects already produced by the establishment of a few Cotton Factories.

*Western Carolinian.*

A lady asked her physician whether snuff was injurious to the brain? "No," said he, "for no body who has any brains ever takes snuff."

### Bridge Notice.

At the last term of Orange County Court John Tralinger, Charles W. Johnston, John Foster, William Murray, and Thomas Billo were appointed Commissioners to examine the bridge built by Michael Holt across Stinking Quarter, and report to next term whether said bridge is necessary to the public convenience, the materials of which it is built, and the cost of building. Notice is therefore given, that the said Commissioners will meet at the bridge on Monday the 16th of April next, for the purpose of making the examination and preparing their report.

March 15.

Stop the Runaway!

Ran away from the subscriber, on Friday the 16th instant, a negro boy by the name of GRIFFIN. He was about 21 years of age, five feet nine or ten inches high; and of a dark complexion; has a full face and projecting lips, and speaks very quick. No prominent mark recollect except a scar on one of his legs. He was raised in Virginia, and purchased of Goldwin & Templeman. A liberal compensation will be given to any one who will apprehend said boy and deliver him to me, or confine him in any jail so that I can get him.

JOHN A. FAUCETT,

Hillsborough, March 23.

13-3

### List of Letters,

Remaining in the Post Office at Hillsborough, N. C., on the 1st day of April, 1838, which if not taken out in three months, will be sent to the General Post Office as dead letters.

A	M
Samuel Austell	Thomas Moore
James Armstrong	Presley Marcum
James H. Arrington	Rev. A. A. Nebane
B	N
Israel Barker	John Neal
Robert Burnside	O
Eliza M. Benton	Jesse O'Daniel
Joseph Booth, et al.	John Odenthal
Andrew Browning	P
William Brown	Wm. N. or L. K. Pratt
Clem Biles	Thomas Parrish
Samuel Cole	Anderson Proctor
John H. Crutchfield	Mary Patterson
Messrs. Collier & Guerin	Cynthia Pacey
Rev. S. J. Price	R
William Cage	Robert Rhodes
James R. Cole or Ed-	Willie T. Rhodes
ward Davis	F. C. Smith
Susan Cheek	William H. Smith
Thomas Cate, of John	Gen. John Smith
D	Joseph Steel
Willis B. Dillard	Fantienna J. Shaw
John Z. Davis	Herbert Sims
Peyton Dockery	J. Sned
E	Samuel Strayhorn
Nancy Esther	John Seebot
F	Thos. Stephens
Thomas Flint	T
Philip Forches	Hannah Thompson
William Finly	Mrs. Jane Thompson
G	Miss Jane Thompson
Green B. Gilbert	Danl. W. Thompson
Moses Guess	Zach. True
Elizabeth Garrot	U
Elizabeth C. Graves	Anna M. Underhill
H	V
Right House	Thos. Vernon
Robert Harris	W
Wm. A. Hanney	Wm. Wharton
J	Wm. H. Woods
Charles W. Johnston	John W. Woods
Benjamin Johnson	James M. Workman
John Johnson	Nelson Whitted
William S. Johnson	Henry Whitted
Wm. C. Jackson	
Russell James	
Wm. A. B. Jones	
L	
Jesse Lewis	

Persons calling for any of the above letters will please say they are advertised.

THOS. CLANCY, P. M.

April 2.

14-

### To Stock Breeders.

The subscriber has an IMPORTED RAM he has of the Ayshire breed, now fit for use. He will render service at five dollars per Cow, or to any careful man he would farm him until October next. Ayshire is an animal of beautiful form, now in fine health and condition. He was selected in England as the best adapted to our country, the whole stock being remarkable for their easy keep, and fine milking qualities.

I have also an IMPORTED RAM I would turn out the coming season; he is of the Leicester breed, so famous for early maturity, fine ness and quantity of their wool, and feeding kindly and profitably for the table.

This stock has been imported at great expense, with the hope of improving the cattle and sheep of my native State, and if my fellow citizens do not avail themselves of the opportunity, they must blame themselves very aptly.

ALLEN JONES DAVIE.

March 29.

14-

### STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA,

Person County.

Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions,

March Term, 1838.

The Petition of the minor children (names not known) of John Easley and wife Susanah, who sue by their next friend and father John Easley, Henry Day and wife Catherine, Alexander Elexson and wife Mary, against

James T. Jones, Nancy Jones, the children of Joseph Jones, who represent their deceased father, William Jones, Parham Brooks, and wife Sally, Stephen G. Jones, David Christopher and wife Lucy, Betsy Anna Jones, Leab Jones and Rebecca Jones.

Petition for Settlement.

Appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that the defendants, the children and heirs of Joseph Jones, William Jones, the children and heirs of Stephen G. Jones, and David Christopher and Lucy his wife, are not inhabitants of this state, and that the ordinary process of law cannot be served upon them; it is therefore ordered, that publication be made for six successive weeks in the Hillsborough Recorder, that the said plaintiffs appear at the next Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, to be held for the county of Person, at the courthouse in Roxborough, on the third Monday of June next, and then there to plead answer or demur to said petition, otherwise the same will be taken *pro confesso*, and heard *ex parte*.

Witness Charles Mason, Clerk of said Court, office, the 13th Monday in March, A. D. 1838.

CHARLES MASON, Clerk.

Price adv. \$6 50.

14-

### STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA,

Person County.

Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions,

March Term, 1838.

Portius Moore, Administrator, &c.

Heirs at law of Judith Oakley, deceased.

Petition to sell Land.

Appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that the heirs at law of Susannah McVey, deceased, (names unknown) are not inhabitants of this state, and that the ordinary process of law cannot be served upon them; it is therefore ordered, that publication be made in the Hillsborough Recorder for six weeks successively, requiring the said heirs at law of Susannah McVey, deceased, to appear at the next term of this Court, to be held for the county of Person, at the courthouse in Roxborough, on the third Monday in June next, and plead answer or demur to the petition, otherwise the same will be taken *pro confesso*, and heard *ex parte*.

JOHN BRADSHER, C. M. B.

Price Adv. \$4 00.

14-

### STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA,

Person County.

Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions,

March Term, 1838.

Portius Moore, Administrator, &c.

Heirs at law of Judith Oakley, deceased.

Petition to sell Land.

Appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that James H. Roffin, one of the defendants, is not an inhabitant of this state. It is therefore ordered, that publication be made in the Hillsborough Recorder for six weeks successively, for the said James H. Roffin to appear at the next term of this Court, to be held for the county of Person, at the courthouse in Roxborough, on the seventh Monday in March next, and plead answer or demur to this petition; otherwise the same will be taken *pro confesso*, and heard *ex parte*.

JOHN BRADSHER, C. M. B.

Price Adv. \$4 00.

14-

### CHARLES MASON, Clerk.

Price of Adv. \$4 75.

14-

CHARLES MASON, Clerk.

Price of Adv. \$4 75.

14-

Blanks for sale at this Office.

### Boarding House.

A FEW regular Boarders can be accommodated by the subscriber, at the old stand of John Faddis, deceased.

Persons desiring it can also be accommodated during Court week.

THOMAS D. CRAIN.

February 15.

14-

### Clock & Watch-making Business, and Jeweller.

The subscriber thus tenders his sincere thanks to those who have so liberally patronized him since his commencing business in Hillsborough. For a short space he has withdrawn from his labors by sickness, and would crave the indulgence of those whose work has been thereby delayed. Having been again restored to health, he hopes to be enabled to prosecute his business to the entire satisfaction of all who may favor him with their custom.

He has on hand a good assortment of

Watches, Jewellery,

&c.

which he wishes to dispose of on reasonable terms.

Orders from a distance for Watches, or for the execution of work, will be faithfully attended to.

LEMUEL LYNCH.

December 7.

14-

### To Builders.

THE building of a Black Court House in Carrboro, Moore county, is offered to contractors, who, after examining the subjacent plan and description, will send in sealed proposals to the Commissioners at Carrboro, by the 1st day of May ensuing, when the contract most be closed - to wit:

The dimensions of the house, 56 by 42 feet, two stories.

The foundation to be of hewn rock, 2 feet above the surface, with a sufficient projection to prevent any injury from the falling of water off the eaves, with as much of the foundation laid in lime mortar as shall be deemed necessary.

The pitch of the first story to be 10 feet in the clear, the external course of which is to be laid in lime mortar, and the wall to be 2 feet thick, the lower story to be divided by cross passages into four rooms, with brick walls, each room to be furnished with a fire place.

The cross passage to be 12 feet in the clear, the passage lengthwise to be 10 feet.

The wall of the upper story to be 16 inches thick, totally laid in lime mortar, the pitch of which to be 13 feet in the clear, to be divided into three apartments; two jory rooms 9 feet in the clear lengthwise, with lathed and plastered partitions, a fireplace in each; and one or two fireplaces to the Court room.

All the rooms to be ceiling up to the chair board, and finished with plastering and white wash, except the rooms in the lower story, to be ceiled over head.

The jory rooms to be furnished with bench seats, and the court room to be furnished with bar, bench and tables, in such manner and style as the commissioners shall direct.

Each passage door to be furnished with folding sancters.

The house to have 30 windows, 24 lights, 10 by 12, with glass over each passage door.

The cap sills and gills of each passage door and all the windows, to be of hewn rock.

All the doors to be furnished with panel shutters, and the windows of the lower story with folding, lined, panelled shutters, with a quantity of glass and fastenings.

The roof to be hipped, well supported and covered with zinc.

The exterior of the building to be painted red and pencil'd.

Steps of hewn rock to be furnished each outside door.